Running Slowly For President

Will America come to Church?

By Myra MacPherson

Twenty-seven years ago, when Senator Frank Church was at Harvard Law School, he began to suffer from terrible lower back pains. His wife Bethine thought he was simply studying too hard and urged him to slow down, but the pain persisted through a bitter cold winter. So the Churches returned to Stanford University, where Church had graduated Phi Beta Kappa. But the change to a new law school and a new climate made little difference to Church who couldn't fight a pain for which doctors could find no reason.

Then they found Frank Church had cancer. Radical surgery was recommended and doctors operated for hours, removing the affected area as well as glands in the groin and abdomen and lymph nodes all the way up to the kidney. "They decided they had cut all they could," Bethine recalls. "They were just going to close him up. They said it was all over; that he couldn't make it," she says, absent-mindedly knocking on a wood end table. "But they had misread the report. It was re-read by a man who looked like God—the cancer was very receptive to x-ray."

The cure was almost worse than the initial pain. "The x-rays just burned him up—it took him to the edge of death," his wife says. For several weeks he suffered the daily agony of nausea following x-ray treatments. Church, six feet, was down to a barely surviving 80 pounds. During the treatments, Bethine recalls, "I'd start to read aloud and just read madly to distract him. Sometimes if I was very histrionic I could get him over the hump of nausea." She remembers reading and re-reading *The Turn of the Screw*, Church remembers *Mr. Roberts*. Now round-faced and jowly, Church on TV looks heavier than his 175 pounds; in person he is slim and athletic. "I never would have made it without Bethine," Church says. "She was just so determined I would get well."

That illness forever shaped Church's attitude on life. "I had previously tended to be more cautious—but having so close a brush with death at 23, I felt afterwards that life itself is such a chancey proposition that the only way to live it is by taking great chances. I watched my maiden aunt, Eva, whom I loved dearly, carefully putting money aside, waiting for the day when she could retire on her very modest income —and then she died three months before retirement. All her plans, those books she had on traveling, all those things she ever wanted to do—all snuffed out overnight..."

Church acquired the outlook that taking a chance and trying was more important than winning or losing. After graduating from Stanford law school and practicing in Boise, Idaho, for a few years, Church, a man never before elected to any office, decided to run for the U.S. Senate. He became the boy wonder, the youngest senator in 1956 at the age of 32. Now, 18 years later, he is running for the Presidency. He has called off his camp followers and money seekers while he chairs the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Operations, but he has left the door open to resume that quest in the fall. It is, needless to say, a very chancey proposition. But, while a "Church-for-President" question elicits little wild enthusiasm on the Hill, memories of George McGovern's '72 primaries, keep people from laughing. Church is an anomaly: The first Idaho Democratic senator ever to win even a second term, he is now in his fourth term.

And the times may be conspiring to vault to the forefront the Churchian view of a cautious America: a country with a diminished sense of Yankee soldiers-Yankee dollars omnipotence.

Hill handicappers, rating the plusses and minuses of Church, usually start with the good news. He is bright, one of the brightest in the Senate. At 50, he is, incredibly, an elder statesman who has worked with five administrations and is in a top-ranking position of power on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. At an age when many men are just beginning their senatorial career, Church ranks 16th in seniority and the average age of those 15 senators senior to him is 70.

His voting record is steady; one of the first doves on the Vietnam war, one of the first to champion civil rights. He stuck his neck out on controversial conservationist legislation and supported such causes as aid to the aging before it became popular. He exposed questionable international dealings of multinational corporations and he is now investigating high-and low-level government spying.

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But Jefferson was, after all, pre-TV. Today, the candidate who stirs great loves and hates gets that all-important media exposure. Even a former staffer feels, "I don't think Church is charismatic enough to be a very good candidate, but I think he'd be a helluva good President." But those who have seen mild-mannered Church change in front of an audience and bring them to their feet, feel the laugh may be on those who indulge in the conventional Washington sneer.

Students cheer noisily when he calls bailing out companies with public money, "socialism for the rich and free enterprise for the poor." To be sure, his razzle-dazzlers are largely to Jewish groups predisposed to cheer Church these days; they give him standing ovations in Miami, New York, Chicago as he shouts his objections to our administration's "appeasement" policy in Saudi Arabia: "Indeed the only signal that comes through loud and clear is 'give them what they want —American law and American custom be damned!' " Church explains he is "blitzed" with invitations from pro-Israeli groups who need to be "reassured with respect to American foreign policy," but cynics see this as a conscious attempt to syphon off Scoop Jackson's wealthy Jewish "constituency."

The Presidential talk continues nonetheless. Carl Burke, a Boise lawyer and friend since the eighth grade, quit his firm to manage Church's campaign, had corraled wealthy backers in California and New York and several national committeemen before Church halted Burke because of the CIA committee work. But Burke still has his track shoes on. And Frank Mankiewicz, an advisor to Robert Kennedy and George McGovern, sounds like he's looking for another leader—and a job. Mankiewicz urged Church to run. "If he gets all the way in, I feel he'll draw off most of the support for other liberals. He co-authored every important 'restriction' on American policy in Indochina. The reason we're not still fighting and slaughtering over there is mainly because of Church." Who knows, Mankiewicz might even be able to help Church with his good guy problem. He once kidded McGovern that the way to change his Clark Kent image was to "get a rumor spread that someone at a cocktail party made a remark you didn't like, and you gave him a quick karate chop that broke his arm."

Frank Church is where he wanted to be ever since he was 14 and first dreamed of becoming a senator. And, for the first time, in a post-Vietnam foreign policy reassessment, Church, the top-ranking dove, is in a position to be an influential spokesman for change. Even if he cannot harness today's sentiments enough to get his presidential flyer off the ground, Church can be a force in Congress to apply pressure against the administration's adherence to what Church calls our "fatally flawed foreign policy." If he stays in the Senate, Church will be chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee soon, and, if strong enough, could become more a policy-maker and less a critic. Church laughs at suddenly being on the popular side and wryly ponders where have all the old hawks gone. "There was a time when the sky was dark with them and the doves didn't dare come out."

A loner from the West, Church admits that he has never fit in Washington. "I've been here 18 years and have no feeling of belonging to this city. I feel lonesome in this town." But there seems to be no deep hunger to belong. He often uses the phrase, "I am relaxed." He is relaxed about the Presidency, relaxed about his current heavy work load, relaxed at a party.

Reporters used to the quick and snappy answers, ask Church questions at their own peril. He insists on giving the *whole* answer, with all the circumlocutions. Ask him for his vision of America's future foreign policy, for example, and Church first takes you back, if not to the Stone Age, then, at least to the beginnings of our "failing" Asian policy. "Any policy would have to be set at rectifying our mistakes. We saw the Vietnamese as pawns on a great global chess board, being pushed by prime movers as part of an international Communist conspiracy. The *Vietnamese* saw it as an indigenous war, a continuing struggle for national independence." Any future U.S. help in Asia "should be given at arms length," just as Russia and China helped the North Vietnamese. Troops should be cleared out of Thailand and, less quickly, Korea.

"This is an absolute necessity if we are not to repeat the mistakes of Vietnam. There is no reason, no purpose for U.S air bases in that part of the world, except to serve as a springboard for another Asian war."

Church does not label himself an isolationist or non-interventionist, as some are quick to call him, but rather an opposer of *indiscriminate*, interventionism. He is always "amazed" when asked how he can be a dove on Asia and a hawk on Israel.

"There is so little comparison! In Indochina, we blundered into a civil war among the people of a region of no strategic importance to the United States. The leaders we supported lacked the capacity to enlist the support of their people. Contrast this de-

backe with the Israeli experience—a democracy that has asked for the means to defend itself against outside forces—and has never called on American troops to fight for it. That's the biggest contrast. It is inconceivable to abandon Israel. If the Russian-equipped Syrian and Egyptian armies should ever overrun Israel the Soviet Union would be placed in a position of preeminent influence in this strategic part of the world—obviously this would be a severe setback to the United States and such principal allies as Western Europe and Japan who depend so totally on the Middle East for fuel supplies."

Church is among those who see our future threat as an economic one. "I think that the impact of OPEC (Oil Producing Exporting Countries) cartels is far more damaging than anything we have witnessed in Cambodia, Vietnam, Laos."

The Middle East oil situation is murky, complex and fraught with violently divisive political points of view. Church says the exorbitant oil prices are bringing "tremendous inflationary consequences" and the dependency of Europe on Mideast oil has "undermined our whole Western alliance." On the other hand, Gerald Parske, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, feels this is more rhetoric than reality. "We have to face the fact the price of oil was too low for too long." Church counters, "How can anyone say I am overemphasizing the problem when oil prices alone are equivalent to a $50 billion added tax on the American economy alone? If prices are determined by a free market, alright, but we don't have a free market." Church feels present American policy only gives us increased prices and favors a tougher holding back policy with such countries as Saudi Arabia and Iran. "They've come to believe they can bring any action against us, raise prices, and still get everything they want. Well, many favors can be withheld. They need our technology and weapon systems every bit as much as we need their oil." Administration spokemen feel such actions would be "precipitous," Church says all he wants is a policy of "reciprocity."

The argument that Arab countries provide only about 11 per cent of our total supply from oil producing countries is of little import to Church's assertive position. Saudi Arabia, sixth among our suppliers, is along with Iran in a vital "pivotal role," he says. "It doesn't matter how much oil we get from Saudi Arabia—these two countries are the architects of OPEC and without their leadership OPEC would begin to crack."

As the "boy senator," Church was described as having a "dazzling" smile. Today, the face is fleshier, the hair, which still falls on the forehead, is beginning to grey, he wears glasses to read. But the smile still dazzles and the look is still earnest.

He laughs at the nicknames and criticisms of his Eagle Scout style. He's heard them all before. Including the latest; that he took the chairmanship of the committee on intelligence operations to get national exposure—televised hearings begin in a few weeks. "I think this committee is so very important; I sought it, but I've never seen it as any other than a political mine field." While liberals write warning letters that the committee "better not be a whitewash," there are just as many others who remember when the CIA and FBI were, as Church says, "enshrined by TV programs and all kinds of p.r." Church plans to strip away the "national security" excuse and says "our major purpose will be to alert the

American people to the ever present danger of 'big brother government' prying into every facet of their lives. This is a more insidious danger to freedom than anything. We're examining the CIA, FBI, military intelligence, IRS, Post Office, Secret Service." After months of interviews and studying secret files, Church is "shocked" at the extent of such government surveillance.

One day recently, Church propelled out of his office—a place so debugged as a security measure that even CIA director William E. Colby felt his secret conversations there were safe—into a Washington bright with sunlight, not a fitting background for a day's worth of talk on modern day plague and pestilence. Professor W.K.H. Panofsky testified in a Dr. Strangelove voice before the subcommittee on Arms Control, International Organizations and Security Agreements of the Committee on Foreign Relations. He warned that slow-down, if not a reversal of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. strategic arms race, was vital in order to halt our "race to oblivion." Back in 1960, when Church was championing Kennedy, he once turned to poetry to criticize what he called President Eisenhower's "refusal to consider the missile gap" between Russia and the United States: "Now we lay us down to sleep/ with Ike's smug team the watch to keep/If we die before we wake/ Well the bed was soft—and we slept too late."

But the excesses of 15 years ago are not the perceptions of today. Church, who has voted for all disarmament legislation, gloomily preaches, "I wonder, Dr. Panofsky, if we're not really kidding ourselves as to whether these (past) agreements were meaningful at all?"

Church catches the end of an Interior committee meeting then hurries to the Israeli embassy in his decade-old yellow Mustang, driven by an aide. At a "Happy Birthday for Israel" reception Church smiles on George Meany, talks fishing with the British ambassador, kibitzes with a member of the Knesset, clasps Arthur Goldberg, who says, "I just want to say there is no one better qualified than Frank Church for president." People eagerly praise Church for his Arab boycott stand. Church says many times that he released a list of 1,500 American businesses and organizations boycotted by Saudi Arabia for their links with Israel, "so we could fight back and put a stop to it."

The talk is, again, of war. Saigon is about to fall and Church is asked about Ford's view that the rest of the world would see us as having "bugged out" of Vietnam. "What's the matter with us to be so on the defensive? It is the inevitable end of a mistaken policy," he says with a tinge of impatience. "Americans are too sophisticated to buy that view. They see it all on TV; they see soldiers pushing aside old women and children to get on planes." Abba Eban jokes about Ford, "most politicians gloss over their failures, he glosses over his successes." Church laughs and looks as if he might be filing away that line as he glides out, shaking hands, acting the candidate.

In his Capitol hideaway office, Church sits on the floor and eats a club sandwich from a coffee table as advisors brief him on a closed CIA session with Clark Clifford. After

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three hours with Clifford, Church reveals no nuggets to disappointed reporters. A quick change to black tie in the Senate gym and Church is mingling at the White House photographers' banquet. A drum-rolling presentation of colors quiets the chatter. Church, "that Com-symp" to his John Birch enemies, is the only one at his table who places hand over heart. At dinner's end, Church ducks into a New York Times party for one quick drink. But it is clear he wants to leave; a few minutes later he is on his way home.

Frank and Bethine Church are consistently termed one of political Washington's most happy couples—even by those who work with them, often the most cynical examiners of the public "happy couple" mask worn by unhappy political teams. An interview with them sounds dangerously like a parody of those Modern Screen stories about Hollywood's rare phenomenon, the long-standing happily wed duo. "I find it so hard to talk about our marriage except positively," Bethine says with a giggle. "It comes off a little like those sunsets they paint on calendars." She sees the job as a joint career but laughs at the phrase. "When I say 'this is my career' it always comes out wrong. It just sounds so icky. I feel like 'Mrs. Goody Two Shoes' for the next six hours when I say something like that."

Church says Bethine is the greatest influence on his life. "She's aware of all the pressures. Probably one reason we have a happy marriage is that she understands all of politics." She says, "If someone were going to Timbuktu tomorrow I'd say, 'I've just got to get my toothbrush and the children, I'm a seat-of-the-pants type person." Church sees this as an important plus. "I think the majority of wives are very much oriented toward the nest. Politics is an insecure profession. The people who choose it are driven to it—that's not true of their wives."

The Frank and Bethine team is so honed that one reporter recalled a disconcertingly synchronized performance. "I had this chilling feeling that I was watching two actors, although I like them both." Church describes their technique as "Bethine usually introduces me and then we answer questions. After, she circulates and I circulate through the crowd."

One former aide said, "occasionally we had to tell Bethine there are only two senators from Idaho—and she isn't one of them." When an aide recently discouraged a reporter from following Church around for a day, Bethine was quietly put out. Promptly the next morning the aide called the reporter back and hastily set up a day with Frank Church.

(For years, a macho political joke went that Church was run by two women—Bethine and Verda Barnes, his longtime a.a. Church was one of the few senators who ever appointed a woman to that position and Miss Barnes, like all of his staff, past and present, praises him. "I have never known him to say a petty thing and he has the best disposition of any person I have ever known.")

When Church first ran for office, Bethine drove the car for him and, to counter his shyness about meeting people, would actually push him out the door. His low-budget campaigns rely on as much exposure as possible and by the end of a campaign, the callus in the wedge between his finger and thumb on his shaking hand is hard and brown. Once, Bethine whispered that Church was pressing his thumb too hard when he shook hands with the elderly. He forgot to heed her and "all of a sudden I felt this pressure on my thumb," he recalls. "I looked down and there was Bethine calmly lifting my thumb up in the middle of a handshake!"

"Best friends" in high school, Frank and Bethine carried on a correspondence courtship when he was in World War II and married when he returned to Boise. Church served in the Burma-China-India theater as an intelligence officer. The biggest problem on the Burma road was not always the Japanese but Chinese robbers who swooped down on American troops. But the time Church felt his life in real danger was, strangely, the evening of the Japanese surrender. When his plane landed in Nanking the Americans faced row upon row of crack Japanese units in perfect formation. Church thought for an instant, "this is absolute insanity. Who says they're going to give up to us?" But the emperor's word had come through and all was peaceful.

In Idaho, Bethine is well known in her own right as a member of a strong political family. Her father was a U.S. District judge and a former governor. Next to his wife, Church credits his liberal father-in-law with having the strongest political influence on his life; Church's own father was more of a counter force. A "staunch Republican" and owner of a sporting goods store, Church's father never forgave himself for voting for Franklin Roosevelt in 1932. In self-defense, Church went to the library to get an unbiased view of Democrats —and wound up in their corner.

Photographed by Matthew Lewis

Senator Frank Church and Arthur Goldberg at Israeli Embassy reception.

When Church came to the Senate it was widely rumored that he was a millionaire, thanks to having married into mining millions. Bethine laughs and says, "I wish it were true. When we were first married, one mine was paying some dividends. But dad was the kind who believed you can't take it with you so he spent it. He also grub-staked every misbegotten mine in the West. When he died we got a drawerful of IOUs." When Church first came to Washington there were many breathlessly cute newspaper articles about how he looked even younger than his 32 years. He had to wear brown suits to distinguish himself from the pages, who wore blue. One day a woman came up to two young men standing by an elevator in the Capitol. "I understand that one of you boy pages gets mistaken for Senator Frank Church." One of the "boys" answered, "Yes ma'am." He was Church.

Although old hands snickered at his uncontrolled joy at being a senator, Church moved ahead fast. He astounded Jimmy Hoffa, appearing before the labor rackets investigating committee, when he scolded, "We don't need you, Mr. Hoffa, to come up here and moralize on what's right and wrong."

But the first time he presided over a session of the Foreign Relations Committee, Church leaned back in the chairman's high-backed swivel chair, trying to look confident, and toppled over on his head. Righting himself and the chair, he calmly observed, "The junior senator from Idaho is not accustomed to presiding over this lofty committee."

Church's big moment came in 1960 when he was the keynote speaker at the Democratic convention. He was 35. He studied and studied his speech. When no one was looking, he practiced at the podium. He got national publicity before the speech. It turned out to be a flag waver that included such lines as "only an awakened and rededicated America can raise a standard around which the great fraternity of the free can rally." Many conventioners went to sleep. A long-time friend recalls, "That was a marvelous opportunity to break into the national scene, and, frankly, he blew it with superficial oratory. You don't get a chance to blow too many chances. Maybe he's got another with this CIA business." Today, Church rolls his eyes and shakes his head about that speech. With a laugh he says disarmingly "All I can say in my defense is—I didn't know any better."

On the Senate floor it was another story, as Church grew to be effective. In 1962, although facing a stiff re-election fight, Church sponsored the pro-conservationist wilderness bill. Much of his re-election opposition was coming from business interests opposing the bill. "How does Frank manipulate?" asks McGovern. "He really doesn't. On the wilderness bill, for example, he was an extraordinarily able floor manager. He did it by shaming people into standing for the future of this country—despite all the special interest claims."

McGovern and Church tied for third place—after Morse and Gruening—in their dove stance; Church's first anti-administration policy speech came in January, 1964. He teamed up with McGovern on the Senate floor in early 1965, incurring Lyndon Johnson's wrath as well as that of hawkish Idaho voters. In 1967, John Birch backed opponents, who muttered that the "pinkos" and "punks" got him elected, tried to recall Church for treason. The kooky plan, labelled illegal, backfired and got Church more support than before.

In 1968, Church's opponent hammered away at his civil rights, antipoverty and other domestic legislation, his dove stance and support of the nuclear test ban treaty. His 1974 opponent did the same and was aided by John Birch pamphlets that smeared Church. More than 55% of the votes went to Church. That sounds close for some states but for Idaho, one staffer said, "any Democratic victory over 51% is considered a landslide." Church won the first time with 59%, 55% in 1962 and a whopping 61% in 1968. Church wins by going deliber-

ately parochial back home, stressing his ability to best represent Idaho's interests. In a gun-toting state, where practically everyone is a hunter, he avoids one suicidal position—he vociferously fights gun registration legislation.

Church's multi-national subcommittee findings were considered important net plusses in detailing such areas as the involvement of global corporations with foreign policy and developing the CIA link in Chile. But Church has been criticized as writing a report less assertive and aggressive than his more flashy hearings; some on the Hill wonder if Church is in it for the publicity rather than for affecting legislation and policy.

For example, a Church-Hart bill for a federal government agency to act as the sole purchasing agent for all United States oil imports has been knocked as unsophisticated, unworkable and impossible by some in the administration and, expectably, the oil industry. The proposal is designed to weaken the power of OPEC. The government would purchase oil under a secret bidding system and would then resell to private companies. John Lichtblau, executive director of the Petroleum Industry Research Foundation—an independent consulting firm working with both industry and government agencies—argues, "What is to prevent OPEC from turning the tables and submitting a collective bid above the prevailing world market price? Our only options would then be to accept the bid or do without OPEC oil. They know we can't accept the second choice." Church says "I don't think that view is realistic at all. There is no indication they would respond this way. That would be like imposing a new embargo and that would put an end to all the largesse they're now getting. There's just too much to lose on their part as well." He added caustically, "This bill touched a raw nerve—oil companies don't want any interference in their marriage with OPEC. Well, they don't have to worry. I've only got 15 senators willing to put their names on it for fear of offending oil companies. I hardly think it will go anywhere."

Church bristles at any inference that his hearings produced "puff" attempts at legislation. "After the ITT hearings we passed a bill to make it a crime for a company to offer money to the CIA," (it is now pending in the House.) A "major legislative achievement" was a bill to phase out government insurance of private business investments abroad "after the subcommittee looked into OPIC (Overseas Private Investment Corp.) and found it was being subsidized by the taxpayers."

And Jerome Levenson, chief counsel for the subcommittee argues, "Church knew they weren't going to do a damn thing on Helms or Kissinger, but he pushed it. The rest of the committee just wanted it all to go away. He was the only guy who pressed on. All that about Helms' meeting with ITT's Geneen, none of that would have come out if we hadn't pressed Helms and crew. The State Department and everyone was urging him to stop and he just blasted them all to get where we did. The net plus is we exposed as issues things that had previously been sacrosanct." In a few weeks the subcommittee will have another go at some 10 to 12 companies, planning, as Business Week magazine says, "a long, hot summer for U.S. companies that have accepted bribery as an ordinary — and necessary — cost of doing business abroad."

Bethine's father gave her some advice on how to run a political life. "He told me, 'Now look, your mother traveled with me. You'll just have to go with Frank. Otherwise, you'll never know what makes him happy or sad or tired.' That helped. I'm such a worrier that had I thought I was not doing the best by Chase and Forrest, I'd just have been a wreck. As it is I worried enough about all of them.

In earlier days, the Churches allowed politics to encroach on their private time; weekend embassy dinners, Idaho wheat growers' receptions, staff phone calls at night. "The kids didn't complain, but pretty soon we were spending less and less time together," recalls Church. They realized that politics was interfering and creating a distance between Frank and their younger son, Chase, now 18. (Forrest, the older, is married and has just been ordained as a reverend following graduation from Harvard Divinity School). Chase was tuning out of his school work. The Churches "worked things around to consider his needs." They got a cabin in nearby Emmitsburg and, when possible, retreat there. The boys rode Hondas and Church taught them how to skeet shoot. But, mostly, says Bethine, it is where they can be together as a family—"before it gets to the point that you forget what that's like."

The trips to the cabin are less frequent these days. Church once expressed doubts about the rigors of a presidential campaign and that he was "reasonably frightened" by the experience of his friend McGovern. "You see the tremendous time and effort; there's probably a tremendous ego trip involved in such a race—but it puts your marriage under the severest possible strain. When Ed (Muskie) decided not to run with McGovern, it was because Jane really had had enough." (Church himself

was available in '72 but the only person who asked him was Jimmy the Greek, who gave him favorable odds as a running mate.) Church continued, "I think for people to want the presidency so badly that they will pursue it for years in the hustings, requires not only elephant glands, but also a terrible inner need for what they consider ultimate recognition in politics."

Today, that tune is somewhat changed. Church says, "Bethine and the boys have always been very political; they'd feel at home with it." One reason Church has changed his mind is, quite simply that he was asked. "This is the first time since 1968 that people have asked me to run. That time I was facing a tough Senate fight and couldn't consider it."

Church thinks the charisma factor sidetracks important issues and Bethine disgustedly feels the personality parade contributes to "Potomac myopia. You lose track of what people are thinking. I think this public relations thing has gone too far. I don't know how it gets undone, but I think people would have more confidence in us politicians if we could stop the treadmill. It isn't just terrible for a politician's personal life, it is terrible for our government. Eventually you're doing more p.r. than work."

Asked why he would want to be President, Church says "That office still remains the great one; there is a tremendous opportunity that comes to no one else, to change things for the better." But Church says he wouldn't mind staying in the Senate, either. He may well have to. Given the complexities of this year's campaign, particularly the new restrictions on financing, Church will have to do a lot of "p.r." to make up for his sidetracked campaign. He shrugs and says that's the chance he'll have to take.

Bethine marvels that "Frank relaxes faster than anyone I've ever met." With a broad smile Church says "in fact I can relax a lot faster than I can rev up."

Statements like that will cause Church's camp followers to lose more than a little sleep. But Church—a man who thought at the age of 23 that he had no future—can afford to be a little philosophical at the age of 50.

"I am," Church says, "just awfully relaxed about what the future will bring." ■